

# MORAL ADVOCATE.

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"On Earth peace, good will towards men."

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## A LETTER

To M. Jean-Baptiste Say,

On the comparative expense of Free and Slave Labour. BY ADAM HODGSON.

(Continued from page 96.)

If slave labor were cheaper than free labor, we might fairly infer that in a state in which slavery was allowed, free labor would be reduced by competition to a level with the labor of slaves, and not slave labor to the level with the labor of freemen: and that in two adjoining states, in the one of which slavery was allowed, and in the other prohibited, labor would be highest, *ceteris paribus*, in that in which slavery was proscribed. But experience proves the reverse. Storch observes, that those who hire slaves in Russia, are obliged to pay more than they who hire freemen, "Unless they live in a place where the competition of free laborers reduces to a level the hire of slaves and the wages of free laborers. The interior of Russia, and the capitals of that empire, furnish proofs of the truth of this observation. In the capital, the competition of free laborers is the greatest, and although the wages of free labor are very high there, the hire of slaves is, notwithstanding, less than in the interior." \* \* \* \*

If slave labor were cheaper than free labor, we should naturally expect to find it employed in the cultivation of those articles in which extended competition had reduced profits to the lowest point. On the contrary, however, we find that slave labor is gradually exterminated when brought into competition with free labor, except where legislative pro-

tection, or peculiarity of soil and climate, establish such a monopoly as to admit of an expensive system of management. \* \* \*

The West India planters declare that they shall be ruined, if sugar from the East Indies shall be admitted at the same duty as from the West.

If slave labor were cheaper than free labor, we might reasonably infer, that in proportion as the circumstances of the cultivators rendered economy indispensable, either from the difficulty of obtaining slaves, or other causes, the peculiar features of slavery would be more firmly established, and that every approach to freedom would be more sedulously shunned in the system of culture. But it is found, by the experience of both ancient and modern times, that nothing has tended more to assimilate the condition of the slave to that of the free laborer, or actually to effect his emancipation, than the necessity imposed by circumstances of adopting the most economical mode of cultivation.

"In ancient times," says Brougham, "a great part of the population of the most polished states, was the personal property of the rest. These slaves were chiefly captives taken directly in war, or purchased from other warlike nations who had obtained them in this way. The constant hostilities which at that time divided the people of all countries, rendered this a very fruitful source of supply. During the rise of Athens and Rome, accordingly, when many foreign nations were by rapid steps conquered, and when others, still unsubdued, could sell the persons of their weaker neighbors, there was never any scarcity of men in the

great slave markets. The cruelty of the treatment which those unhappy men experienced, was proportioned to the ease with which they were procured; and we have already remarked how intolerable their lot was, among the very people who called every foreigner a barbarian. As war became less common, and the arts of peace were more cultivated, this supply of slaves, of course decreased: and when the Roman empire, tottering under its own weight, could think of nothing less than new conquests, there was an end of importing slaves. Accordingly, with the progress of real civilization, but still more with the diminution of wars and conquests, was introduced a milder system of domestic government, a greater humanity towards the slaves, and a more careful attention to breeding, when the stock could neither be kept up nor increased by other means. The laws added their sanction to this salutary change, which no laws could of themselves have wrought. The rights of slaves came to be recognized, the conduct of the master to be watched, and the practice of emancipation to be encouraged. By degrees the slaves were incorporated with their masters, and formed a part of the great free population, which was rather mixed with, than subdued, by the Goths."

"To the slavery of the ancients, succeeded the bondage and villenage of their Gothic conquerors. But the difference between the two was marked and important. The Greek and Roman slaves were imported; the Gothic slaves were the peasantry of the country, and born on the spot, unless during the wars which accompanied the first inroads of the northern tribes. Accordingly, we find no parallel between the rigor of the ancient and of the modern slave system; and a foundation was laid in this essential difference, for a much more rapid improvement of the whole

society, than took place in Greece or Rome, notwithstanding the superior refinement of the classic times. The slave first became attached to his master, not as his personal property, but as a part of his stock, and astricted to the soil, to use the language of the feudal ages. By degrees, the mutual interests of the lord and his villeins, in the progress of national improvement, operated that important change in the state of manners, out of which the modern division of ranks, and the privileges of the lower orders, have arisen in the civilized quarters of the European community. First, the villein obtained the use of the land to which he had been annexed, and of the stock in which he had been comprehended, on condition that a certain proportion, (generally one-half,) of the produce should belong to the lord of the land, and proprietor of the stock. This great change, one of the most signal of those events which have laid the foundation of human improvement, by degrees too slow for the observation of historians, was owing entirely to the master discovering how much his interest was connected with the comfort of his slaves, how necessary it was to treat well that race of beings whose toils supported the community in ease, and whose loss could not be repaired; how much more profitable it was to divide with the vassal the fruits of his free and strenuous exertions, than to monopolize the scanty produce of his compulsory toil. As soon as the right of property, and the secure enjoyment of the fruits of labor were extended to the vassal, the progress of improvement became constant and visible. The proportion of the fruits paid to the lord was diminished according to an indefinite standard; the peasant having been permitted to acquire property, provided his own stock, and obtained the power of changing his residence, and commuting the nature of

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his service. By degrees, the rent came to be paid in money, according to the number of competitors for a farm; and they who could not farm land themselves, sold their labor to others for a certain price or maintenance. Lastly, the legislature secured the lease of the farm with the same certainty that it secured the property of the landlord, and recognized the one as well as the other for useful and independent subjects."

"A similar progress will most probably be the result of that abolition the supposition of which we are indulging, (the abolition of the slave trade.) That this idea is not chimerical, the consideration of a few facts, very little known in the history of America, may convince us."

"The peculiar circumstances in the situation of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of South America, have already partially operated some of those happy effects which we may expect from the abolition of the slave trade. The high price of the negroes in the Spanish settlements, partly from absurd regulations of trade, partly from the deficiency of the Spaniards in the practice of commerce and naval affairs, causes that want of hands which would prevail in its full extent, were the African trade stopt." "From these circumstances, and partly, no doubt, from the peculiarly indolent character of the colonists in those parts, there has arisen a much better system of treatment than any other European colonies can boast of." "Other views of interest have conspired to confirm and extend this system of mildness and equity towards the slaves; and the legislature has not failed, by every prudent interference to assist the inferior race in the acquisition of rights and privileges."

"Thus we meet with many very singular analogies between the history of the negroes in South America, and that of the villeins or bondsmen of Europe, in the earlier feudal

times. All the gold and jewels in Brazil have, for many years, been collected according to the same plan that the feudal lords adopted for the purpose of quickening the industry of their vassals. The master supplies the slaves daily with a certain quantity of provisions and tools, and the slave is obliged to return a certain quantity of gold or jewels, according to the nature of the ground. Every thing that remains over this ration, the negro keeps himself, were the balance to be millions. The gold mines of Popoyan and Chaco, in Spanish America, are wrought in the very same way. The finest pearl fisheries in South America, those of Panama, for example, are in the hands of negro tenants, as it were. These are bound to give a certain number of pearls every week. The negroes in the towns are allowed to hire themselves out to services of different kinds, on condition of returning to their masters a certain portion of their wages; the rest they may spend or hoard up for their own use."

"After a slave has, in any of these various ways, acquired property, he endeavors to purchase his freedom.

If the master is exorbitant in his demands, he may apply to a magistrate, who appoints sworn appraisers to fix the price at which the slave shall be allowed to buy his freedom. Even during his slavery, the behaviour of the master towards him is strictly watched; he may complain to the magistrate, and obtain redress, which generally consists in a decree, obliging the master to sell him at a certain rate. The consequence of all these laws and customs are extremely beneficial to the Spanish and Portuguese power in America. While the slaves are faithful and laborious, the free negroes are numerous, and in general much more quiet, useful, and industrious, than in the other colonies. Most of the artificers are of this class;



and some of the best troops in the New World are composed entirely of negroes who, by their own labor and frugality, have acquired their liberty."

"It is hardly necessary to remark the striking analogy between the state of the Spanish and Portuguese negroes, and that of the European bondsmen, at a certain period of their progress towards liberty. We find the same gentleness of treatment, the same protection from the laws, the same acknowledgments of rights, the same power of acquiring property, granted to the American slave, which prepared the complete emancipation of the European vassal. In some particulars, we observe another step of the same progress; for in many parts, the negroes are precisely in the situation of the *coloni partiarii*, or metayers of the feudal times. In one respect the negro is even in a more favorable situation: his *reddendo* (if I may use the expression) is fixed and definite; all the overplus of his industry belongs to himself. The metayer was bound to divide every gain with his lord. The former, then, has a much stronger incentive to industry than the latter had. As this difference, however, arises, not from the progress of society, but from the nature of the returns themselves, easily concealed, and with difficulty procured: so, in some other respects, the negro is not in such favorable circumstances. But the great steps of the process of improvement are materially the same in both cases. Both have in common the great points of a bargain between the master and the slave; privileges possessed by the slave independent of, nay, in opposition to his master; the rights of property enjoyed by the slave, and the power of purchasing his freedom at a just price. This resemblance, in circumstances so important, may fairly be expected to render the progress of the two orders also similar.

In the negro, as in the feudal system, we may look for the consequences of those great improvements in voluntary industry, more productive labor, and the mitigation, and final abolition of slavery, when the slave shall have been gradually prepared to become a free subject.

"Some of the good effects that have flowed from the national character, and peculiar circumstances of the Spanish and Portuguese, have been produced also in Dutch America, by that great competition of capitals, and those complicated difficulties, which lay the Dutch colonists under the necessity of attending to the smallest savings. If, from this source, combined with the facility of importation, has arisen a cruelty, unknown in other colonies, it may be doubted whether a compensation for the evil is not afforded by another effect of the same circumstances:—the general introduction of task work, which the keen-sighted spirit of a necessary avarice has taught the planter of Dutch Guiana to view as the most profitable manner of working his slaves. Nothing, indeed, can conduce more immediately to the excitement of industry, than the introduction of task-work. It seems the natural and easy transition from labor to industry; it forms in the mind of the slave those habits which are necessary for the character of the free man: it thus prepares him for enjoying, by a gradual change, those rights and privileges which belong to freedom."\*

Of that modification of slavery under which the slave pays a tax or tribute to his master for permission to work on his own account, and to which such important effects are ascribed in the preceding extracts, Storch observes, "This milder form of slavery has been adopted by diffe-

\*And yet it is as possible to oppress by task-work, as by any other mode of exacting involuntary labor. *Ed.*

rent nations, but I doubt if it has existed any where to the same extent as in Russia. It is one of the most efficacious means of mitigating the fatal effects of slavery, and if there is ever any serious intention of abolishing it, this institution offers the most simple and least inconvenient means." Now it would be difficult to find a stronger proof of the paralyzing influence of slavery on human exertion, than the beneficial results which have followed the substitution in its place of a system so oppressive as even this mitigated form of bondage is represented to be by intelligent travellers. Mr. Heber remarks: "The peasants belonging to the nobles in Russia, have their abrock raised by their means of getting money. It then becomes, not a rent of land, but a downright tax upon their industry. Each male peasant is obliged by law to labor three days in each week for his proprietor. If the proprietor chooses to employ him the other days, he may; as for instance, in a manufactory, but he then finds him in food and clothing. If a slave exercises any trade which brings him in more money than agricultural labor, he pays a higher abrock. The peasants, employed as drivers at the post-houses, pay an abrock out of the drink money they receive for being permitted to drive; as otherwise, the master might employ them in other less profitable labor, on his own account. Sometimes they pay an abrock for permission to beg." "In despite," says Dr. Clarke, "of all the pretended regulations made in favor of the peasant, the tax he is called upon to pay, or the labor he is compelled to bestow, depends wholly on the the caprice of his tyrant."

Task work, another important, although earlier step in the progress from slavery to freedom, than a participation of earnings with a master, and another instance of the substitution of a cheaper for a more expen-

sive system of cultivation, I found to be almost universal in the Atlantic States of America, where tobacco, cotton, and rice, are the staple articles of production; but I never heard of an instance of it in the sugar plantations of Louisiana, where great profits render attention to economy less necessary.

If slave labour were cheaper than free labor, we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less productive by the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them; but the presumption is contradicted by experience. "A few Polish nobles, (observes Coxe, in his travels in Poland,) of benevolent hearts, and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shown this to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of the peasants; for it appears that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a tripple proportion. The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants, was Zamoiscki, formerly great chancellor, who, in 1771, enfranchised six villages in the palatinate of Masovia." "These villages were, in 1777, visited by the author of the patriotic letters, from whom I received the following information:—On inspecting the parish register of births, from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, he found the births 434; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 628; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1776, 585. By these extracts, it appeared that, during the 1st period, there were only 43 births,

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"The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In the state of vassalage, Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peasants, and to furnish them with food, horses, and ploughs, and every implement of agriculture: since their enfranchisement, they are become so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves with all these necessaries at their own expense, and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the manual labor formerly exacted by their master. By these means, the receipts of this particular estate have been nearly tripled. (To be continued.)

From the Philanthropist.

## REFLECTIONS ON WAR.

(Continued, from page 92.)

If we consider ourselves merely as creatures, whose business is the pursuit of happiness here, and recollect the dreadful calamities which are the inseparable concomitants of war, we shall find sufficient cause to be astonished at the infatuation of mankind.

However our journey through life may be diversified—whatever probations the restraints of virtue may involve—yet the great objects of moral and religious laws, are, to promote our happiness *here*, exalt our natures, and secure our felicity in another state of being. But when we deviate from moral rectitude, besides the retribution which awaits the transgressors, we deprive ourselves of the happiness we might otherwise enjoy. And in no case does this become more evident than in the example of war.

That war is one of the greatest calamities which can afflict the human race, has been admitted so long, that it will hardly now be called in question. It involves all other evils, and has many peculiar to itself.

When David was allowed the hard alternative of choosing the mode of an awful visitation on his people, *pesti-*

*lence, famine, and the sword*, being proposed to him, he choose the first, with this observation: "Let me fall into the hands of the Lord"—"and let me not fall into the hands of man." He knew the nature of famine—he was aware of the consequences of pestilence—The awful character of the judgments displayed on Pharaoh and his people, and the still more terrible visitations in the wilderness, on the Israelites themselves were fresh in his mind—he also understood the nature and consequences of war, and he considered this, the most dreadful scourge among the judgments of an offended Deity.

In contemplating the character and consequences of War, in order to estimate the propriety of that policy on which it is founded, merely with reference to its immediate effects on human happiness, we should not be misled by the names which popular delusion has perverted.

Were it not for the powerful influence of custom, who could see embodied *Thousands* with pomp and music, marching to the field of battle? Who could look on when the dreadful work of death was going on,—or when the contest was over, bear the sight of the field of battle, covered with the dying and the dead?—Human beings—destined to fill the measure of social happiness, mangled in every possible form—or fleeing before their pursuers,—or exulting in the waste of existence and of happiness they had committed? Or who could contemplate the distress which must result from such an engagement?—the privation of widows and orphans—of parents and endeared friends—without the utmost astonishment that such a state of things should be perpetuated from age to age by the policy of mankind.

Robbery too, forms a prominent feature in this distorted character.—The moral obligation of honesty is totally dissolved, in relation to the belligerent, and the more success the more applause.

In short, *murder, devastation, terror, robbery*, and consternation, mark the progress of hostile armies! And pestilence and famine frequently follow in the train.



Thus the most important moral precepts are trampled under foot, nor are even political principles regarded in time of war. Military governments are always despotic,—and there can be but a very precarious liberty enjoyed, where military discipline and martial law are in force.

Thus while the assailing army is practising the work of destruction, the opposing force is performing the part of a school of corruption. The rules of war, setting aside all moral and religious obligation, teaching that 'killing' men in battle is not murder; that 'putting' the unoffending 'to the sword' is a little harshness; that making prizes, and getting booty, are not *robbing*, but that property belongs to him that can get it; and that devastation may be committed, provided it can subserve the purpose of the actors: all this being preceded by hatred and revenge, as necessarily preparing for a state of war, it can but follow, that besides the miseries, the horrors, and the crimes, which are the immediate effects of war, a great degree of corruption must be produced; a state of moral depravity, incompatible with social order and rational enjoyment.

The soldier carries along with him into private life, the principles he had imbibed, and the habits he had contracted in the camp; and these are infused into his associates. Hence swindling, counterfeiting, house breaking, horse stealing, highway robbery, assassination, dueling, and suicide, become more frequent.

But how comes it that the human mind is thus imposed upon, and this shocking depravity produced?

There is a reciprocal operation of exciting causes. Whenever a war is to take place, the war spirit, the war policy, and the war principles are diffused through two nations at least. And when these become prepared for the 'appeal to the sword,' the same feelings actuate, and the same principles govern those who take the field, and those who applaud their achievements. Those who remain at home, gladden to exultation at the success of the soldier in arms. Is he made prisoner, wounded, or killed? they are in-

volved in all the agonies of grief.—But has he assisted to rob unoffending merchants of all their property, and reduce the affluent to beggary, to kill or wound thousands,—spread terror and devastation over countries, and lay towns and villages in ashes? his name is repeated with admiration and bestowed on towns and counties—Historians unite in swelling and perpetuating the burst of applause: and Poets devote the fascinating charms of verse, to cast a splendor over the most horrid scenes.

Thus, causes and effects, circulate in endless succession: and all combine to erase from the heart the tender sensibilities of our nature, the dictates of right reason and the irrevocable precepts of the Almighty.

The youthful mind catches the infatuation—aspire to "immortal honors," and anticipates the opportunity of marking his progress to the desired elevation with blood and devastation. Military schools and exhibitions—fleets and standing armies in time of peace, all powerfully tend to foster the war spirit, and to make military characters. And these are not to be content with *empty names*, or with making the implements and forms of war mere play things.—They must have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. They must mix in "the carnival of death." Sink vessels and their crews—wrap towns in flames—be "grim with dust, and terrible with blood," to obtain the applause of the multitude, the lays of the poet, and the eulogy of the historian.

Thus military achievements excite the war spirit, and inspire a thirst for military fame, and these in turn produce more wars.

It is true every nation engaging in actual hostilities, considers that they have "just causes for war." There is always some real or imaginary injury complained of, or some advantages to be obtained. But who will say that war is founded on a just estimate of things?

It being understood that the result of the contest is to depend on the relative number of troops employed, their equipments, discipline and the skill of

the commanders. And these have no sort of connexion with the justice of the cause involved. Nor is it possible to calculate before hand, the sacrifice that must be made, or the immediate or remote consequences which are to follow from the measure. Every man, when he consents to a war, pledges his own life and property, and the lives and property of his friends and others, and they, probably, not consenting. He risks the exposure of his female friends to brutal violence; and not his female friends alone. He has no certainty of the object for which he contends. But after all the sacrifices of blood, and treasure, and happiness, the contending powers must have recourse to *negociation*, and that too, in all probability, with circumstances more unfavorable than those which existed before the commencement of hostilities. To all this may be added, the certainty of an increase of corruption and crimes in the community after the termination of the war.—And where is the equivalent to be obtained? Is it to be found in foreign commerce? In extension of territory? In the balance of power or even in liberty itself?

When the social circle is broken forever—when injuries worse than death, have been inflicted on survivors—injuries and privations which never can be wiped from the memory—then, even changes in the form of government, will be poor compensation.

But it must be recollected that war is not the sole medium through which the blessings of society are conveyed. As has been already observed, it has no relation to the merits of a case under discussion.

It may be recollected too, that the very Principle on which it is vindicated, has long been exploded by all well regulated communities. It is no other than a resort to *force*, by the interested party, to obtain an object contended for.

To avoid the consequences which were inevitably to result from this mode of obtaining redress, was the very cause which gave rise to the institutions of civil government. At an early period, it became evident that *Power* was not always on the side of

*Right*; nor the injured party, the proper judge of the measure of retribution. "Injuries (says the celebrated Blair) retaliated according to the exorbitant measure which passion prescribes, would excite resentment in return. The injured person would become the injurer; and thus wrongs, retaliations, and fresh injuries, would circulate in endless succession, till the world was rendered a field of blood." Here is the necessity of forming *Governments*, enacting *Laws*, & establishing *Tribunals*, to secure the peace, the comfort, & the happiness of all classes.

But while this wise and necessary policy has been applied to the condition of man, in his individual capacity; while the happy effects of this policy are evident to all; these principles have not been adopted, further than to place *communities* in a situation, a little similar to the condition of individuals in a state of nature. And all the dreadful evils which mankind have been endeavouring to guard individuals against, have been practised with impunity on the *large scale*. *Power* has been the acknowledged Arbiter of nations, and in the impressive language of Blair, before quoted, wrongs, retaliations, and fresh injuries, have circulated till the world has been rendered a field of blood! It is true we have heard something of the "laws of nations." But these are so imperfect that, mankind, considered as a community of nations, may be said to be in a barbarous, uncivilized state. Indeed it is questionable whether there is a horde or tribe in the wilds of Tartary, the deep recesses of Africa, or the inhospitable regions of Greenland, that has not exploded the idea, that each individual, in the adjustment of differences, is to be governed by his own partial views!

In all nations and tribes, however dark and destitute of knowledge; however secluded from the rest of the world, man has voluntarily surrendered a portion of natural liberty, for the sake of securing more important objects: and in the portion thus surrendered, is included the right of judging in his own cause, and regulating the measures of retributive justice.



The same reasoning will apply to nations as individuals. The same happy effects, or the same deplorable consequences will result to nations and to individuals, according as the one or the other policy is pursued, whether the subjects be many or few: the only difference will be in the aggregate of the good or evil produced, which will be in proportion to the number of subjects included.

Thus if two individuals, differing on account of real or imaginary injuries, resort to violence, under circumstances that would stamp the transaction with the character of murder, or designate it as "an affair of honor," one individual may be precipitated into the world of spirits—one family may be deprived of a father and a friend. But when two nations resort to the same mode of settling disputes, what countless thousands are hurried into an awful eternity! What multitudes become murderers without remorse! How many widows, orphans, and disconsolate friends, must hear, with hear-rending anguish, the result of every battle!

And thus also, on the other hand, if the progress of revenge, ambition, and other passions, is arrested, and peace and harmony are preserved, in proportion to the extent of these blessings, so also is human happiness promoted, and so far society becomes an object of contemplation, grateful to the philanthropic mind, and pleasing to that Being who made this earth the abode of rational existence.

In contemplating the effects of War on human happiness, we are naturally led to take a view of the past, as well as the present time. The histories of nations present us with a continued series of the most atrocious crimes. One ambitious scheme succeeded to another, and each required the sacrifice of incalculable numbers of human victims. Scarcely would one military adventurer, attain his highest elevation, when some new candidate for *fame*, or *power*, or *wealth*, would hurl the envied object from his eminence, and raise himself, at the expense of the wealth and blood of thousands.

If we would descend to particulars, let us turn our attention to the feuds

of Greece and Rome. The field of battle and sacked City, rise in prospect before us.

Athens, Thebes, and Syracuse, and even Rome, the metropolis of the world,—instead of affording objects on which the imagination can repose with tranquil satisfaction,—instead of exhibiting man, rising above the influence of his worst passions,—acquiring happiness, and diffusing it around him, present us with scenes of rapine, fire, and sword: treachery, assassination, and massacre! ramparts raised of dead—Cities in flames—the patriarch and infant put to the sword—the miserable survivors abused, and dragged into slavery!

Trace the progress of human events into modern times: cast a glance over France, and Spain, and Portugal: Italy and Switzerland: the German and Russian Empires—the ruins of Moscow, and the field of Waterloo! and we shall find from stage to stage, all that constitutes human misery and depravity.

In India the blood of the Hindoo, marks the extension of the British Empire.

In Africa we behold intestine wars, fomented throughout that vast continent. Treachery and violence spread in every direction. The strong murdered, and the feeble enslaved.

From Africa, returning to the Western Hemisphere, pursue the track of Columbus, and mark the progress of Cortes and Pizarro.—The innocent Indian, happy in his ignorance of the vices of more polished nations, was swept from his native soil, by the 'besom of destruction.'

Looking Northward, we observe the native, retiring, sullen and revengful, before the strong arm of power,—and sinking beneath an exterminating system of invasion.

Add to the sufferings of those who fall by the sword, the privations, the sympathies, and the anguish of "supported friends, and dear relations"—But why? We are lost in the magnitude of the evil. Imagination, itself cannot comprehend it. But perhaps it may extend our ideas of the magnitude of numbers and of the evils, under consideration, to enter a little into calculation.

The army of Xerxes, when he invaded Greece, it is said, attendants, and all taken to gether, amounted to five millions. Suppose four out of five were destroyed in that mad enterprise. This number is soon told. But suppose that each name had been recorded. That a space of two minutes had been allowed for venting the feelings excited by each case—a short time to reflect on the death of a human being, his sufferings and his worth—and the grief and the loss sustained by his friends,—continuing the calculation, suppose that eight hours of every day had been appropriated to this employment.—It would have required 45 years, 241 days to complete the melancholy list.

Again, if we look back, and estimate the destructive wars that have been carried on through past ages, and recollect the number of ages that have passed, we shall readily agree that more lives, all taken together, have been destroyed, than would amount to one whole generation. If, then, the evils of war had been concentrated, in point of time, (independent of moral evils and all remote consequences,) the whole human race would have been exterminated, and an awful blank have been left in creation.

But the reader must not forget that the loss of life is not the sole evil resulting from war. The pecuniary burdens, the waste or misapplication of property, and the increase of moral turpitude, form no inconsiderable part. Let him also recollect, if he ever was deprived of a parent or a son—the support of his infancy or the hope of his declining years.—Did he ever enjoy the society and the sympathy of a friend whose welfare was dearer to him than his own—and experience the tender connexion separated forever? Let him then recollect that every victim of war has friends—that *they* had identified the prosperity of that victim with their own: and that the afflictions inseparable from these privations must go into the aggregate of the evils arising from the practice of war.

The beasts, the birds, the reptiles of the earth associate together, according to their respective kinds; and, according to their capacities enjoy society

and heighten the enjoyments of each other: while man, superior to them all in capacity for sympathetic participation, is the terror and destroyer of his species.

The animal creation has become friendly to man, obedient to his will, and subservient to his wants; even tempests contribute to his benefit, by purifying the air that he breaths—while he himself appears to be the only implacable enemy to his kind.

“Will the sword devour forever?” Will no philanthropy arise among the powers of the earth, and influence their councils to adopt the policy, and set the example of Peace? Is it not a dignity to which the United States might laudably aspire. Her local situation, the habits of her Citizens, the talents of her statesmen, all conspire to favor the measure.

Here too the experiment has already been tried. Pennsylvania still reminds us that there once was a Penn. The very name recalls to our recollection that her prosperity emerged from a system of PEACE. The savage who rose in terrible revenge against the menaces of power, bowed before the policy of the Gospel, and enstretched, in his affections, the safety of those who had neither arms nor fortifications for their protection.

While the tomahawk and the scalping-knife were reeking with the blood of indiscriminate victims, wherever the policy of war had been adopted by the white settlers; while forts and block houses could scarcely protect the miserable fugitives from vengeance—the Pennsylvanians were secure alike in their fields and their cabins.

The same principle is confirmed in private life. The man of spirit is often involved in contests, affrays and duels—while the man of upright and peaceable principles needs neither dirks nor pistols to defend his person or his honor. He rises superior to the assaults of calumny, and malice itself is disarmed before him.

The object is more than commensurate with the difficulty of the undertaking. It involves all that is dear to man—all that is interesting to the Patriot, the Philosopher, and the Christian. Success would realise more

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substantial fame—more intrinsic blessings to the present and future generations than could ever result from conquest.

If to provide for widows and orphans of fallen soldiers is noble, and consistent with the feelings of humanity, how much more noble, and humane would it be to preserve them from becoming objects of commiseration, by not sacrificing the lives of their supporters!

Let America, lay her schemes of greatness in the system of universal benevolence—In Peace and good will to men—let none have cause to complain of her injustice, and none will need to tremble at the name of her Power. [To be concluded.]

*For the Moral Advocate.*

## The Millennium.—No. 6.

(Continued from page 87.)

Claudius Seisselius, arch bishop of Turin, in the fifteenth century, alluding to the Waldenses of Piedmont, and those scattered throughout the diocese of Italy, in his flaming zeal for the papal cause, tells us that "the most cruel persecution had not been able to extirpate them, or hinder them from a constant defence of that doctrine which they had received from their ancestors." "All sorts of people," says he, "have repeatedly endeavored, but in vain, to root them out; for even yet, contrary to the opinion of all men, they still remain conquerors, or at least, wholly invincible." Page 37.

He then proceeds thus to describe them: "The pope of Rome and the rest of the prelates and priests of that church," these Waldenses affirm "neither follow the life nor the precepts of Christ, but do quite the contrary: and that not only in secret, but so openly and manifestly, that it can no longer be disguised, because they chiefly value themselves on things that are contrary to religion, and not only contemn, but even mock

at the precepts of the Apostles. The latter lived in great poverty, humility, charity, continence as to carnal things, and contempt of the world; whereas we prelates and priests live in great pomp, luxuriousness, and dissoluteness. We think it a great thing to excel in royal power, rather than in sacerdotal sanctity; and allow that endeavors and studies tend only to the acquisition of glory amongst men, not by means of virtue, holiness and learning, but by the abundance of [temporal] things; by arms and warlike magnificence, and by vast expense of equipage, furniture of houses, gold, and other things of that nature. The Apostles would not possess any thing as their own, neither would they receive any into their society who had not forsaken all and laid it in common; whereas we fish for other people's goods more greedily and impudently than heathens themselves. Hence it is that we make wars, and invite princes and people to take up arms. The Apostles travelled through towns & villages, sowing the word of God with power, and exercised many other offices of charity, according to the several gifts they had received: Whereas we, not only do nothing like this, and give no good examples of holy conversation, but, on the contrary, frequently resist and oppress those that do, thus opening the way to all manner of dissoluteness and avarice. They, as it were, against their wills and with reluctance, by the divine command or inspiration of God, received ordination to promote the salvation of others: whereas we buy benefices and preferments for money, or procure them by force, or through the favor of princes and other indirect means, merely to satiate our lusts, to enrich our relations, and for the sake of worldly glory; moreover they spent their lives in manifold fastings, watchings and labors, terrified neither by trouble nor slander, that they might show



to others the way of salvation; whereas we pass our time in idleness, in pleasures, and other earthly or wicked things. They, despising gold and silver, as they had freely received the divine grace, so they freely dispensed it to others; whereas we set all holy things to sale, and barter with the heavenly treasures of God himself; and, in a word, confound all things, both human and divine. So that the Church of Rome cannot be said to be the spouse of Christ, but that common prostitute described by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and St. John in the Revelations, in such lively colors. For Christ hath joined his Church to himself to be his bride, holy, pure, fair, adorned with ornaments and jewels, of every virtue, without spot or wrinkle; such as the Holy Spirit describes in the Canticles. Far be it, therefore, that Christ should ever think of changing this, his beautiful and lovely bride, for such a stinking, loathsome harlot."

Enius Sylvius has thus given the faith and manner of life, of the Waldenses, and although every true christian may applaud their principles and virtues, and their firmness in maintaining them, yet, in order rightly to appreciate it, we should bear in mind, that his object was to criminate them. This view is appropriate to the other *unintentional* testimonies from their enemies of the Roman Church, to their close adherence to primitive principles and simplicity. But we shall soon see what they said for themselves.

Jones proceeds with the account given of them by Seiseliuſ Seiseliuſ, but being principally a recapitulation, I shall pass over it.

"Such," says Jones, "is the description given us by the arch bishop of Turin, of the Waldenses of Piemont; before Luther was born, or Calvin thought of; or the term Reformation ever mentioned." Page 30 to 40.

"Amongst the writings of the an-

cient Waldenses that have reached our time, is "A Treatise concerning Antichrist, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments." Their historian John Paul Perrin, to whom we are indebted for preserving it from oblivion, informs us that the original manuscript, in which are also many sermons by their pastors, bears date, A. D. 1120. Thus it describes antichrist:

"Antichrist is a falsehood, or deceit, varnished over with the semblance of truth, and of the righteousness of Christ and his spouse; yet in opposition to the way of truth, righteousness, faith, hope, charity; as well as to moral life. It is not any particular person ordained to any degree of office or ministry, but it is a system of falsehood opposing itself to the truth, covering and adorning itself with a show of beauty and piety, yet very unsuitable to the Church of Christ, as by the names & offices, the scriptures and the sacraments, and various other things may appear. The system of iniquity thus completed, with its ministers, great & small, supported by those who are disposed to follow with an evil heart and blindfolded—this is the congregation which, taken together, comprises what is called antichrist or babylon, the fourth beast, the whore, the man of sin, the son of perdition. His ministers are called false prophets, lying teachers, the ministers of darkness, the spirit of error, clouds without water, trees without leaves, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, wandering stars, Balaamites and Egyptians.

He is termed antichrist, because, being disguised under the name of Christ and his Church and faithful members, he oppugns the salvation which Christ wrought out, & which is truly administered in his Church—and of which salvation believers participate by faith, hope and charity. Thus he opposes the truth by the wisdom of this world, by false re-

ligion, by counterfeit holiness, by ecclesiastical power, by secular tyranny, and by the riches, honors dignities—with the pleasures and delicacies of this world. It should therefore he carefully observed, that antichrist could not come without a concurrence of all these things, making up a system of hypocrisy & falsehood—these must be the wise of this world, the religious orders, the pharisees, ministers & doctors; the secular powers, with the people of the world all mingled together. For although antichrist was conceived in the time of the Apostles, he was then in his infancy, imperfect & unformed, rude, unshapen, and wanting utterance. He then wanted those hypocritical ministers and human ordinances, & the outward show of religious orders, which he afterwards obtained. As he was destitute of riches, and other endowments, necessary to allure to himself ministers for his service, and to enable him to multiply, defend and protect his adherents, so he also wanted the secular power to force others to forsake the truth and embrace falsehood. But growing up in his members, that is, in his blind and dissembling ministers, and in worldly subjects, he at length arrived at full maturity, when men, whose hearts were set upon this world, and blind in the faith, multiplied in the church; and by the union of church and state, got the power of both into their own hands. Christ never had any enemy like this; so able to pervert the way of truth into falsehood, insomuch that the true Church with her children is trodden under foot. "He seduces the people from Christ, drawing off their minds from seeking those blessings in him, by a lively faith in God, in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit; and teaching his followers to expect them by the will and pleasure and works of antichrist. He teaches to baptise children into the faith, and attribute to this the work of regeneration; thus confound-

ing the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration with the external rite of Baptism; and on this foundation bestows orders, and, indeed, grounds all his christianity. He places all religion and happiness in going to mass, and has mingled together all descriptions of ceremonies—Jewish, Heathen, and Christian; and by means thereof, the people are deprived of spiritual food, seduced from true religion and the commandments of God, and established in vain and presumptuous hopes. All his works are done to be seen of men, that he may glut himself with insatiable avarice; and hence every thing is set to sale. He allows of open sins without ecclesiastical censure, and even the impenitent are not excommunicated. He does not govern, nor does he maintain his unity, by the Holy Spirit; but by means of the secular power, making use of the same to effect his spiritual matters. He hates, and persecutes and searches after, and plunders, and destroys the members of Christ. These are some of the principles of antichrist against the truth, but the whole are past numbering or recording.

On the other hand, he makes use of an outward confession of faith; and therein is verified the saying of the Apostle—"They profess in words that they know God, but in works they deny him." He covers his iniquity by pleading the length of his duration, or succession of time, and the multitude of his followers—concerning whom it is said in the Revelation, that "power is given him over every tribe, language, and nation, and all that dwell on the earth shall worship him," He covers his iniquity by pleading the spiritual authority of the Apostles, though the Apostle expressly says, "We can do nothing against the truth," & "there is no power given us for destruction." He boasts of numerous miracles, even as the Apostle foretold, "whose coming is after the working



of Satan, with all miracles & signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness." He has an outward show of holiness, consisting in prayers, fastings, watchings, and alms-deeds, of which the Apostle testified when he said: Having a form of Godliness, but denying the power thereof."

Thus it is that antichrist covers his lying wickedness as with a cloak or garment, that he may not be rejected as a pagan or infidel, & under which disguise he can go on, practising his villanies boldly, and like a harlot. But it is plain from both the Old and New Testaments, that a Christian stands bound by express command, to separate himself from Antichrist. [Here follow many quotations.] Now it is manifest from the New Testament, John, XII. that the Lord is come, and hath suffered death, that he might gather together in one, the children of God: and it is on account of this unity in the truth, and their separation from others, that it is said in Mat. X. "I am come to separate a man from his father, and to set the daughter against the mother, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law, & those of a man's own household shall be his enemies," Christ hath enjoined this separation on his disciples when he said, "Whosoever shall not forsake father and mother" &c. "cannot be my disciple." And again, "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing." Again, "Beware of the leaven of the pharisees—and take heed lest any man seduce you, for many shall come in my name, and seduce many." And in the Book of the Revelation he warns by his own voice, and charges his people to go out of Babylon, saying "Come out of her, my people, and be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins are come up unto heaven, and the Lord remembereth her iniquity.

From what has been said, we may learn wherein consist the perverseness and wickedness of Antichrist, and that God commands his people to separate from him, and to join themselves to the holy city, Jerusalem. And since it hath pleased God to make known these things to us by his servants, believing it to be his revealed will, according to the holy scriptures, and admonished thereto by the commandments of the Lord, we do, both inwardly and outwardly, depart from Antichrist. We hold communion, and maintain unity, one with another, freely and uprightly, having no other object or purpose herein, but purely and singly to please the Lord, and seek the salvation of our own souls. Thus as the Lord is pleased to enable us, and so far as our understandings are instructed in the path of duty, we attach ourselves to the truth of Christ, and to his Church, how mean soever she may appear in the eyes of men. We, therefore, have thought it good to make this declaration of our reasons for departing from Antichrist, as well as to make known what kind of fellowship we have, to the end that, if the Lord be pleased to impart the knowledge of the same truth to others, those that receive it, may love it together with us. It is our desire also, that if peradventure, others are not sufficiently enlightened, they may receive assistance from this service, the Lord succeeding it by his blessing. On the other hand, if any have received more abundantly from him, and in a higher measure, we desire with all humility to be taught, and instructed better, that so, we may rectify whatever is amiss."

"The treatise (says Jones) then proceeds to sketch, and succinctly, the numerous abominations of popery, and to shew how they all tend to subvert the faith of Christ, and destroy the souls of men; but my limits will only allow of a very abridged view of this masterly statement. "Be it known," say they, to all in general, and every one in particular, that, these are the reasons of our separation, viz. It is for the truth's sake which we believe—for the knowledge which we have of the only true God, and the unity of the divine



essence in three persons, a knowledge which flesh and blood cannot communicate—it is for the worship of that only true God—for the love we owe him above things—for the sanctification and honor which are due to him supremely, and above every name—for the lively hope which we have in God through Christ...for regeneration and the renewing our minds by faith, hope and charity...for the worthiness of Jesus Christ, with the allsufficiency of his grace and righteousness...for the communion of saints...the remission of sins...an holy conversation...for the sake of a faithful adherence to all the commandments in the faith of Christ...for true repentance...final perseverance...& everlasting life." Page 52 to 57.

It is with reluctance that I pass over much matter that is illustrative of the True and False churches...evidencing that this people constituted the true Church.

JUSTIN.

(To be continued.)

Extract from

'War, a Poem, by Samuel Webber, M. D.'

When the stern despot, whose imperial law  
Held Europe's subjugated realms in awe,  
With burning thirst of conquest fired, led forth  
His veteran squadrons to subdue the north;  
When back recoiled upon himself the blow,  
That madly aimed at Russia's overthrow,  
What scenes of ruin rose around his path!  
How widely swept the hurricane of wrath!  
Then woke the anger of offended God,  
Then slumbering Vengeance raised her iron rod,  
Crushed the proud leader in his impious boast,  
And smote and scattered all his mighty host.  
His eagles long with towering wing had flown  
O'er many a trampled realm and crumbled throne:  
Long had the crimson wing of conquest fanned  
His banners spread o'er many a wasted land;  
And long with baleful meteor beam had played  
The light of victory on his ruthless blade;  
Till his proud soul with impious boasting swelled  
Nature and justice in defiance held!  
He called his countless bands to conquest trained,  
To brave the clime where howling winter reigned;  
Proud of their fame, to danger long inured,  
Thronging they came, by greedy lust allured.  
From regions watered by the swelling Po  
To where the Danube's torrents flow;  
From Tiber's banks, where grandeur finds a home  
Amid the ruins of majestic Rome;  
From Tajo's golden stream and sunny bowers,  
To Poland's barren plains and subject towers;  
From the warm shores the midland waters lave,  
To those where breaks the Atlantic's swelling wave,  
The legions came; and half the christian world  
The flag of slaughter to the winds unfurled.

Ruin before them rolled its fiery tide  
 O'er burning towns and fields with carnage died;  
 Famine and Death behind their mad career  
 Hang o'er the corse-strewed plain and desert drear.  
 Onward they marched, till Moscow's regal halls  
 Received them victors in their lonely walls;  
 Then Vengeance started from her long repose,  
 And bade their triumphs find a dreadful close;  
 High in her hand a burning torch she raised,  
 And bright and broad the princely city blazed.  
 Through night's dun gloom red gleamed the spreading fires  
 O'er columned palaces and gilded spires;  
 Around the invader's steps the embers glowed,  
 There features stern and fierce the firelight showed;  
 Their savage deeds belied the name of man,  
 And fiend-like fierceness through their actions ran.  
 Vain were the tears of youth, the pleas of age,  
 Opposed to brutal force and heartless rage.  
 They slew the father on his threshold floor,  
 From mothers' arms the shrieking maidens tore;  
 The houseless wanderer stript, the bending form  
 Of age turned naked to the pelting storm;  
 O'er consecrated shrines unheeding trod,  
 And stained with blood the altars of their God.

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From the Friend of Peace.

### **COCK FIGHTING.**

See how these foolish gamecocks rage and fight,  
 Exerting all their skill and all their might,  
 Each other to torment or to destroy—  
 And cause in brutal men infernal joy!  
 Hour after hour the barbarous work proceeds,  
 Each strives for conquest—each in anguish bleeds;  
 If nearly matched, they fight till nearly dead,  
 Then drooping part—each with a mangled head.  
 But such their folly, each in triumph crows,  
 While all his gains are Wounds, and Pains, and Blows.

Just so the blustering heroes of our race,  
 By needless wars incur supreme disgrace.  
 See Boxers, bruised to jelly by clinched fists!  
 See swords and pistols bleed vain Duellists!  
 But worst of all—see *men in power* delight,  
 In mustering armies for the savage fight,  
 To 'try which can the other harm the most,'  
 While each in martial murder makes his boast!  
 Surprising madness! What! in *Christians* too?  
 "Father, forgive—they know not what they do!" LAON.